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Fate vs. Free Will.

And, last of all, high over thought, in the world of morals, Fate appears as vindicator, levelling the high, lifting the low, requiring justice in man, and always striking soon or late, when justice is not done. What is useful will last, what is hurtful will sink. The limitation is impassable by any insight of man. In its last and loftiest ascensions, insight, and the freedom of the will, is one of its obedient members. But we must not run into generalizations too large, but show the natural bounds or essential distinctions, and seek to do justice to the other elements as well.

Thus we trace Fate, in matter, mind, and morals,—in race, in retardations of strata, and in thought and character as well. It is everywhere bound or limitation. But Fate has its lord; limitation its limits; is different seen from above and below; from within and from without. For, though Fate is immense, so is power, which is the other fact in the dual world, immense. If Fate follows and limits power, power attends and antagonizes Fate.

Nor can we blink the free will. To hazard the contradiction,-freedom is necessary. If you please to plant yourself on the side of Fate, and say, Fate is all; then we say, a part of Fate is the freedom of man. Forever wells up the impulse of choosing and acting in the soul. Intellect annuls Fate. So far as a man thinks, he is free. And though nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble like a "Declaration of Independence," or the statute right to vote, by those who have never dared to think or act, yet it is wholesome to man to look not at Fate, but the other way: the practical view is the other. His sound relation to these facts is to use and command, not to cringe to them.

I cited the instinctive and heroic races as proud believers in Destiny. They conspire with it; a loving resignation is with the event. But the dogma makes a different impression, when it is held by the weak and lazy. 'Tis weak and vicious people who cast the blame on Fate. The right use of Fate is to bring up our conduct to the loftiness of nature. Rude and invincible except by themselves are the elements. So let man be. Let him empty his breast of his windy conceits, and show his lordship by manners and deeds on the scale of nature. Let him hold his purpose as with the tug of gravitation. No power, no persuasion, no bribe shall make him give up his point. A man ought to compare advantageously with a river, an oak, or a mountain. He shall have not less the flow, the expansion, and the resistance of these.

'Tis the best use of Fate to teach a fatal courage. Go face the fire at sea, or the cholera in your friend's house, or the burglar in your own, or what danger lies in the way of duty, knowing you are guarded by the cherubin of Destiny. If you believe in Fate to your harm, believe it at least for your good. For, if Fate is so prevailing, man also is part of it, and can confront fate with fate.

-{Emerson,

The Final Scttlement.

The Nation is now reaping as it has sown; Slavery's long and black account is now being settled, But let no one imagine that that settlement will be final and in full, unless the Nation repents of its hatred and injustice to black men, and, for all-time to come, makes liberty, justice and equality the organic law of its institutions.—[H. Byron Brown.

The religions, including even that called Christianity, but which is not Christianity, have proved themselves false by their failure to exercine the great crimes and abominations.—[Gerrit Smith.

Origina Origina

Round About "Somewhere."

Mr. Editor:-In my wanderings in the West I find myself deprived to a great degree of the society of the New Republic; and if any of the friends who have honored me with criticisms of my published thoughts, should find I do not pay that attention to them which they may deserve, they may perhaps find a reason for it in the fact above stated.

In No. 7 I find an article from a lady friend, which I will make the occasion of a few remarks. The burden of the criticism from this friend and others, seems to be that I am too depreciative of my brethren; and it is kindly hinted by one friend that I ought to speak for myself, and by another that if I did, I might not find anything better there than elsewhere. Now it is rather a queer species of consolution to offer a man who is looking for a sunny spot in existence, to assure him there is one place he hasn't examined, but he won't find it there! A little akin to that philosophy which would recommend a man to be content with a poor supper, because, for sooth, some other unfortunate had none. That must be a miserable kind of misery indeed, which loves to have misery for company. Inasmuch, then, as I am not on a "hunt for imperfections," but the contrary, I must say you hold out a poor inducement for looking. If then, perchance, I have not looked there, an instinctive premonition of what I should find may have prevented the bootless inquiry. If I have looked, the very fact that I find naught there to dwell upon with pleasure may have forced me to look to others for the realization of my ideal.

Yes, I have been there. I have looked upon my own heart, and found the imperfection predicted. And failing there, I have looked to others, and failed there also. I find we are all poor humans together. Henceforth I have always to speak of any man with the qualification in the codicil to the Dutchman's recommendation of his dog: "A good dog of his kind; but he belongs to a tam poor kind." You have my estimate of the "kind," friends, together with my admission that to the best of my knowledge and belief I belong to that kind. Now if you want any other admissions of individual short-comings, I am willing to admit any amount of them, in a general way. But when specific charges are brought against me or my philosophics, I have too much respect for time-honored custom and the universal practice of mankind, to admit for a moment their justice; and so I place myself on the defensive.

A Reformer should not lese faith, but should

Now as to that, I think we should not lese any Saith which is well founded. But if it is not so founded, the sooner we lose it the better. The man who should have so much faith in man as to suppose that all men were honest pecuniarily, would have reason, after practicing upon that supposition, to exchange some of his faith for knowledge. A Reformer, or whoever else undertakes to develop anything, should know first of all what he is dealing with. You can't change the inherent properties of things very essentially. Men cannot gather grapes of thorns, and all effort spent in trying to develop thistles into fig trees, is labor lost. The first question in regard to reforming or developing man is whether he is really worth saving-whether he has in him the elements which would make salvation either possible or desirable. My opinion in the matter is that taken in the mass he will not pay expenses-that as he is now there is nothing in him worth saving. What he may grow to in the future I don't know; but taken in the lump he gives little evidence of either aspiration for, or the pessession of the elements of, immortal life.

But perhaps I may have exchanged some of my superabundant faith in man, for faith in God. It is true that I am not looking for the salvation of the world in the same direction that I once did. Even if it be settled that man is really worth saving, I do not believe he can save himself. Still I think all who are worth saving, which I am inclined to think will include all who really desire it, will live to see a better day on this earth.

It is thought that I have too high a standardthat I ought to save myself from disappointment by not expecting anything. Well, I think it is quite a point gained when you learn that you can expect nothing but crab apples from crab apple stock. But then I don't believe in sitting down content with such a kind of fruit as this. And who shall say that a high ideal avails nothing if it leads one to the conviction, that a tree which brings th forth no better fruit than this must be grafted, or "hewn down and cast into the fire." My friend says that it is the same imperfect men and women who so disappoint us here, that will form our ideals hereafter. Perhaps so, but there must be different blood running in their veins, for like eternally produces like. There must be a more radical reform than any which we twig-lopping, top-dressing Radicals have dreamed of, or man remains what he ever has been, a failure and a botch.

Theorize as you please about him. I care not where he came from, I look at what he is. Of what worth is pedigree in a balky horse? Look work patiently to develop the good, we are told, at him, a poor, groveling animal, bending all his

examples to happing up earthly rubbish, with scarcely in cossity for the fool's back. To suppose that sufa thought of anything higher. Jostling, and throts fering is the legitimate lot of obedience to the divine tling, and treading under foot his neighbor, in his order, and that we can only be happy by contrastinsane craving for paktry pre-eminence. Look at ing our condition with a worse one in the past, is to the straw-gathering, rag-picking crew. Why, not suppose that a premium is put upon vice, and that an angel's lyre could tempt them from their glorious disobedience and sin reap the reward which belong avocation. Heaven itself could proffer no superior to virtue and obedience. charms. Would they exchange their "pile" of dirt for a seat in Paradise? I tell you may. Every reasoning, has laid in the stock essential to the greatman of them would insist on taking his pile along. What were heaven without a bundle of straws! Do I overstate the matter? Not at all. If heaven were proffered on the olden condition: "Go and sell all thou hast and give to the poor," who among all these earth-mongers but would turn "sorrowing" to his money bags! Not one in ten of them would sperience, and God himself, if he ever expects to entake their noses from the ground long enough to joy the greatest felicity possible, would have to turn even listen to a proposition about another world. And yet they tell us that this groveling, mole eyed zace, "if they ever fell, fell upward!" Not very flattering, I think, to our monkey progenitors.

A word now as to that philosophy which teaches that error and evil and sin are all necessary to perfeet men, holds that we must go through hell in order to appreciate heaven, and make us supremely happy, and "rejoices that there was sufficient imperfection in the world to cause a Jesus to reveal himself." Now it strikes me that it is making a poor use of that Divine Benevolence which I aves its home of bliss, takes on the sufferings of a race, to relieve them from the consequences of their folly and sinfulness,-to rejoice in that sinfulness as an occasion whereby Divine Benevolence could manifest itself. No, no, this will not do. The child must not get sick just to show how kind his mother is in curing him. Neither must men mistake medicine for food. Health and not sickness is the normal condition of man. Obedience is the condition on which it is offered. Sorrow and suffering are not the natural regimen of the soul. They are the fruits of disobedience and sin. True they are the marks of God's love, even as is the rod in the hand of a father. Love, not of the sin, but of the child, in spite of the sin. They are chastisements, inflicted to bring the transgressor back to the path of obedience and happiness. And to rejoice in these chastisements, or the misdeeds which make them necessary, is to lose the lesson entirely.

We should never, in our search after the compensation which comes from sorrow and suffering, in the shape of indirect and incidental good, lose sight of the main fact, the great lesson for which they come, namely: that suffering is a consequence of violated law, either in ourselves or others. They

The greatest transgressor of law, according to this est happiness, and reaps the rewards of virtue in the inverse intio to his deserts. The greatest criminal is in curl rvo the greatest saint. And the Devil is entitled to the greatest quota of happiness. The angels who have kept their first estate are very unfortunate in never having tasted the tree of evil exsinner, take a tour through the lower regions, and enter into competition with Satan in his race of wickedness.

No, no. Such is not the economy of the Universe. The wages of sin is death. Transgression brings suffering; obedience to law, physical and moral, happiness. The evils of this world are a consequence of violated law. Man is a sufferer because he is a sinuer. He has departed from the moral economy of God, and is reaping the legitimate consequences thereof.

Reformers have been doctoring the world from time immemorial, but without knowing anything what ails the patient. They are ahead of the rest of mankind in finding out that something is the matter with it. Perhaps they will find out by and by the root of the discase. C. M. OVERTON.

Hudson, Wis., June 30, '62.

Equalizing Forces.

It is plain that if Radiealism was not held in pace by the check-rein of Conservatism, it would dash along at a speed to carry us all headlong into ruin and a social break-up. It is equally plain that if Conservatism prevailed universally without the spur of Radiealism, there would be no progress and no advancement. Hence Radicalism and Conservatism are the political centripetal and centrifugal forces by which we secure progress and development, without endangering the equilibrium of society.

—[Banner of Light,

Governmental Corruption.

I declare it upon my responsibility as a Senator of the United States, that the liberties of the Country are in greater danger to-day from the corruptions and from the profligacy practiced in the various departments of the Government, than they are are not a necessity, nor a good, only as the rod is a from the open enemy in the field.-[Senator Hale.

Society-Its Better Future.

The prevailing doctrine in the world is, that the family institution, as it now exists, is a natural, organic outgrowth of human nature, and that no better system can be devised for the education and training of human beings. It is held that it presents the only true relation of the sexes, and affords the only conditions under which the training and discipline necessary to fit children for the journey of life-of a life which shall reach forward into eternity-can be accomplished. It is claimed that marriage and the exclusive family relation are founded in the principles of the Gospel of Christ, and hence are sacred and absolute moralities which must be fostered and cherished as among the cardinal foundations of Christianity and civilization. This doctrine, though coming down to us with the sanction of centuries, and sustained by the influence and practice of sixty generations, is, nevertheless, we believe, a false doctrine, born of error and an apostate system of Christianity and morality. And not least among the proofs that it is false and factitious, is the fact that the spirit that is fostered and developed under the exclusive marriage and family institution, we mean the spirit of selfishness and jealousy-is a spirit that is totally at war with the spirit of the Gospel. It separates men and women off into an infinite number of dualities, and throws round each duality a wall of separation from all the others, giving it a particular interest which is distinct from the interests of other men and women. And having thus divided mankind up into little family institutions, it leaves them to work out the problem of life in a vast chaos of individualism and selfishness. The fact of human brotherhood is lost sight of and ignored, or becomes only a vague sentimentality, without living power or a recognized form. The great original family idea which existed in the mind of the Creator, and which the purified human heart responds to, ceases to be recognized. God's ownership of all things is ignored, and a human ownership is set up instead. Woman becomes the property of man, and is guarded with the vigilant eye of jealousy and murder.

Now a social system which produces such fruits as these, we believe is not the best which can be devised for the education and training of human beings. Not that we would deny that marriage has had its function in the plan of God, for educating the race, and in preparing it for a final ascent out of sin. Marriage has been a straight-jacket for crazy and bedeviled amativeness, during the past ages, and as a disciplinary institution, has been vastly better than the lawless animalism of free lust. But mar-

dained only as temporary and disciplinary states which were to pass away with the progress of mankind on to a higher plane of civilization. Mankind will as surely be called to pass out of them, as it has been to pass into them. Marriage familism belongs to the legal stage of human experience, and as a part of the law, "enters that the offense may abound," to show men the need of a Social Savior, and as a school-master to bring them to him. Christ came to the world as such a Savior: and as a Social Savior, he offers us better conditions upon which to organize society, than are accorded by marriage familism. The Gospel of Christ introduces a principle which necessarily destroys the marriage institution, and which must revolutionize the whole organization of society. That principle is, that God owns all things. God owns all things; hence men and women cannot own each other. Under the Gospel of Christ, no human relation can come in to modify or destroy this principle; it is the fundamental law of heaven-the code of the Universe. Society calls itself Christian, but it makes no attempt to apply this first and all-important, all-absorbing principle of Christianity to human relations. Instead of being Christian, the world is practically atheistic. It ignores God in its social institutions, and in consequence, is full of sin, selfishness, and all the wickedness of the wicked one.

Believing that society, as it is, is not based on the principles of Christianity, and that it is possible to apply the Gospel of Christ to human relations, in a way to produce better results than have hitherto appeared in the world, the Oneida Community bave commenced a reorganization of society. Recognizing God's ownership of all things as the first and central idea of the Universe, it follows,

- 1st. That we are "members one of another."
- 2d. As members one of another we have no separate interests.
- 3d. Having no separate interests, Communism takes the place of marriage.

In moving forward on this platform, what has been our experience? Have we lost anything that is valuable as a ministering agency in the growth and education of men and women into the fullness of heavenly manhood and womanhood? answer, most emphatically, No. On the contrary every faculty of our souls has received a new stimulus to noble and trodlike action. Everything which nourishes and builds up true humanity; all that is pure, beautiful and lovely in the relations of the sexes; all that promotes truth, unity and peace, is conserved, fostered and strengthened by Bible The feeling of home and all that Communism. riage and the prevailing family institution were or makes home delightful, and invests life with poetry, joy and the aroma of bright affection—friendship, tenderness and love, with their sweet offices, music with its harmonies that reach to heaven, art and all the charms that art can give: all these are the natural and spontaneous fruits of Communism.

The spirit of jealousy and murder which prevails in society in connection with the marriage institution, finds no place among us—it cannot live in an atmosphere of sincerity and true love, in a society where God's ownership is recognized and made the basis of civilization. In a society where Christ is recognized as king of the passions—as the teacher of love-there can be no such licentiousness and diabolical explosions as are witnessed in ordinary society. Moreover in the care of children-in the ministrations of parental culture and disciplinesecuring obedience and a good spirit, Bible Communism offers hundred-fold advantages over ordinary society. It surrounds them with the strength and influence of a religious spirit; it establishes the principle of the ascending fellowship among them, by which they are drawn upward to their superiors, and thus grow in the nurture and admonition of the beavenly spirit.

Such are the conditions and results of a social system which we believe to be better adapted to the education of human beings than the system which now obtains. We are willing it should be judged by its fruits. We have been regarded as disorganizers, as visionaries and fanatics, but we ask society to note one thing: we are constructives rather than destructives; we seek to supersede the present social institutions by better ones rather than merely to destroy those now existing. We ask mankind to go forward to a higher and purer civilization. While the material aspect of the world is continually advancing; while steam, electricity and machinery are revolutionizing man's relations to matter, and bringing nations and individuals into closer and more intimate contact, we ask that society shall likewise advance and have the liberty of outgrowing the old, decayed and corrupt moral ty which now hangs with oppressive weight upon the human heart. We believe better social conditions are possible, because we believe the kingdom of heaven is a possible attainment. And to the glad future of happiness and joy, of unity and brotherhood, of heaven-born love, of Communism in all the out-gushing affections, noble feelings and infinite aspirations of the soul, to which the Gospel of Christ invites us, we wish to go forward.

-[Oneida Circular.

Whatsoever in all God's Universe is needed to promote any individual or aggregate well-being, is ever developed at the moment it is demanded.—[Hine.

The Protection of Society from Crime.

BY W. BYRD POWELL, M. D.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROTECTION OF SOCIETY WITHOUT PUNISHMENT.

The human race consists of nations, and nations of communities, and communities of families, with all the business pursuits which are indispensable to their comfort and necessities. Justice prohibits families from forcing their wicked and worthless members upon other families, and the same is true of communities and nations. The great motive to peace is preservation and prosperity, and the ultimate danger of war is poverty and extinction.

As the domestic, social, municipal and national laws are founded in the constitution of the human mind, and as each individual possesses all the faculties that constitute this mind, it follows that every one individual of the human race is a party to each of the above modes of existence; and as in every department of animated nature, the Creator's purposes indicate the preservation of races, species, and pluralities, rather than that of individuals, and as in conformity with this principle a majority of each community and nation manifest a common motive, sentiment and judgment, it follows that the will of this majority must be taken as the standard or average of the mind of any given community or nation.

Outside of this majority there are two minorities. One, from superior ancestry and educational advantages, is far above the average, and its individuals, for their government, constitute a law unto themselves. The other minority, in consequence of a degraded ancestry and unfavorable educational influences, is much below the average, and its individuals, therefore, exist under a constant tendency to live in discord with the statutes of that mental standard indicated by the majority; they are too defective in the human sentiments to be guided or governed by them, and consequently they require the constant care and vigilance of their respective communities.

Under these circumstances, to what point does justice or municipal vigilance direct our attention? Is it to an abstract question in relation to just or equitable administration of punishment for crime—invariable equivalents of the former for given quantities of the latter, having the protection of society either as a leading or an incidental question? My human sentiments suggest that justice, in this case, points directly and exclusively to the protection of society; and to this end it has been seen that punishment is inadequate, and can never be resorted to without a tyrannical abuse of power.

Communities are more or less divided into clans, or sub-communities, as our various religious sectaries, Masons, Odd Fellows, temperance, literary and other societies. These sub-communities have the ability to protect themselves, and yet they have no

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family ganic bett r placed prened the society. ericheite adrantage to us, the are or prime decisiones to the and straight conform ourselves to them, and The social sectors as the phonic social as the phonic social and the same are as natural as the physical—as and more is not such that the will of the Creator—
the country to the physical they are of immenses - > and like the phisical accommon with them, and like to us so long as we act in conformity with them, see to us so long as we are just as sure to some seed and we do not we are just as sure to some race to us so long as no use are just as sure to suffer. then we do who loses his membership in any individual who loses his membership in any the individual who loses his membership in any The individual perhaps, in character, and also given society, suffers, perhaps, in character, and also the support and companional. giren society, support and companionship of its mem-in losing the support advantages inside in losing the indicate advantages incidental to the inbers, and In his expulsion, the good or safety of the stitution. stitution.
society was alone consulted. It was no penalty to bim, because he lost nothing by it, to which he had an unconditional right. He holds the same relation to the society that a mortified limb holds to the body—it is amputated, or removed, to save the body; pot for punishment, nor as a punishment.

As by the laws of the human sentiments a man has no right to do wrong, it follows that he has no liberty to do wrong. Hence, the moment he does a wrong he forfeits his right to liberty; and if such be the condition of society that he cannot be deprived of his liberty compatibly with the preservation of his life, then his life must be forfeited. With savages no means exist by which a man can be deprived of his liberty without a deprivation of his life. Hence, a delinquent executes the law upon himself, or gets his friends to do it; and, as is esteemed an act of friendship to him, his wife, sisters, brothers and friends participate in the execution. But if neither himself nor friends will execute the law, then his enemies or the injured party will do it, if they can get him; but if they cannot get him, they will execute the law on some one of his relatives, for the sake of vengeance. This desire for vengeance is mixed up with our criminal laws; it is to be observed at every court in civil society, and even in the Christian Church, where it is forbidden.

It has been seen that clans and sub-societies can turn delinquent brethren out upon society, the laws shall do the same, injustice will be done to a neighboring state, which must be avoided; it follows. therefore, that every state should make provision for its offenders. Civil society has the power to do this without the destruction of life; and when an offender can be rendered useful to his family and his coun-

is the contrary, there is a proponto save him, more especially as he greated into a good and useful citizen duris confinement for the protection of society.

As we can have no expectation that a wolf or a the organism will cease to be dangerous, and as we can apply him to no useful purpose by imprisonment, we he is ex-dispatch him at sight; and if the same certainty could be had with reference_to man, it would be wise to treat him in the same manner; but such a certainty cannot be had with reference to man, except, perhaps, in a few instances of idiots and hopeless lunatics.

> When, therefore, a man has been found to have injured society by theft, burglary, robbery, piracy, murder, or in any other way, except by accident or in self-defense, the public safety demands that he shall be restrained of his liberty so long as the safety of society may demand.

I have found it to be very difficult to enable people to understand in what respect this differs from punishment. Is expelling a man from church, when he will not conform to its requisitions, a punishment? Is the amputation of a mortified arm a punishment to the arm? I have before stated that by the laws of the human sentiments, no person has a right to do wrong to another; is it, therefore, a punishment to restrain him from doing wrong to others? If society could have a certainty that a delinquent would go into the forest and live entirely removed from society, he should certainly have the privilege of doing so; but this certainty cannot be had. I would have it constantly remembered that according to the laws of the human sentiments, no man has a right to likerty to do wrong or injury to others; and, therefore, when he does irjury to others, he forfeits his right to liberty, and it is no more a punishment to deprive him of it than it would be to deprive a man of a horse he had stolen. To deprive him of the horse may cause him to suffer more or less, but I have shown that suffering is not necessarily penal. The proposition, to my mind, is as clear as that two and two make four, that no man has a natural or moral right to liberty to do wrong to others, and that when he has abused his liberty by doing wrong, he then ceases to have any more just right to liberty, than a man has to the goods he has stolen; and really, I do not believe that I have a reader who is dull enough to conceive it to be punishment to deprive a thief of the goods he has stolen.

Suppose civil society should refuse to support the laws of the human sentiments, and consequently all of which they may not have offended; but if a state offenders were permitted to roam at large, and depredate when and upon whom they pleased,-would not the consequence soon be that each citizen would conclude it to be right to shoot down the offenders wherever found, although they had done him, individually, no injury? Would not destructiveness and combativeness, under such circumstances, be acting try, it would be a great outrage to those interests to in accordance with the dictates of the human sentiat—the whole purpose is the protection of society.

But to return. When the liberty of the offender shall have been placed in the custody of the law, it becomes the duty of the law to ascertain as to the fact whether he has or has not offended. If the affirmative shall be proved to be the fact, the conclusion is certain: he should be removed from society, whether idiotic, sane or insane—questions with which the court should have nothing to do.

Justice has now been done to society-all its individuals may go to sleep with a feeling of security. The offender has been placed where he is to remain until he can come out with safety to the public good.

It is now proper that we should visit the prisoner, and ascertain his true condition, that justice may at least be done to him. An investigation of his condition discovers that he has not received such an education as would enable him to comprehend his relalations to or duties in society; or, that he has had entailed on him an organization indicating such a deficiency of the human sentiments as to render it greatly improbable, with the imperfect discipline he has had, that he should be a law unto himself; or, that he has a feeble intellect, and has not been educated to act in conformity with the laws of society. In either of these events, it is evident that society was the first offender, and, as a consequence, it has suffered. If punishment is to be introduced, society, for its neglect to the offender, deserves more than he -indeed, all of it.

In civilized states, the municipal laws and institutions are supposed to be founded upon the supremacy of the human sentiments; otherwise it is still in the animal or savage state—which is, unfortunately, to a considerable extent, the fact. A society existing strictly under the supremacy of the human sentiments, would be careful to prepare every individual for a life of harmony with its institutions; and in proportion as society neglects to do this, will it suffer through its neglected individuals. This is not all. A state of society existing in harmony with the supremacy of the human sentiments, cannot furnish a depraved or criminally constituted individual. Both ignorance and degradation are therefore referable to social neglect, and all that society suffers through its evil doers, are consequences that as inevitably flow from the social infringement of the human sentiments, as broken bones do from that of the laws of gravitation.

Under this state of the facts, what should be done? Justice answers, "Although the safety of society ret quired that the offender should be taken out of it, yet it does not follow that our obligations to him are to be thus cancelled. We should, as far as possible, make restitution for our neglect, not only of him, but also of his ancestors. He should have our charity and kindness, as an unfortunate individual of our species-as one upon whom the blighting influence of social neglect has fallen without any agency of his | nature, tyranny, -[Thomas Paine.

ments? Neither courage nor punishment is aimed own. We should provide for him kind and capable instructors, such as can convince him of the justice of his removal from society, call into activity his human sentiments and regulate by them the action of his animal impulses, and cause him to feel that society is kind, and desires to restore him to liberty, usefulness and happiness,"

> In other words, inasmuch as all offenders are such because of an inherited mental imperfection, or an education at variance with the safety and interests of society, they should be regarded as unfortunate rather than as criminal. The laws, therefore, should furnish them protection, under such influences as will be favorable to their return to society, with a strong probability, not only of safety to it, but also of usefulness.

> To obtain these requisite results, our penitentiaries, with proper modifications, will answer. But the name should be changed-they should be denominated sanitary or reformatory asylums, or by some other name that indicates no disgrace.

> To the offenders every possible motive should always be presented that can favor reformation. As labor is indispensable to both health and happiness, they should be required to labor, but in their labor they should feel as much interest as they did in their labor before forfeiting their liberty; that is, all they earn over and above a lawful interest on what they may have and are costing the State, should be placed to their credit, and held subject to their order, under the discretion of the superintendent.

All Things Are Sold.

All things are sold: the very light of heaven Is venal; earth's unsparing gifts of love, The small st and most despicable things That lurk in the classes of the deep, All objects of our his, --- even life itself, And the poor p trance which the law allow Of liberty,-the fellowship of man, Those duties which his heart of human love Should argo him to perform instinctively, Are bought and sold as in a public mart Of undisguising selfi-liners, that sets On each its price, the stamp mark of her reign. Even love is sold: the solace of all woe Is turned to deadliest agony:-old age Shivers in selfish beauty's loathing arms, And youth's corrupted impulses prepare A life of horror from the blighting bane Of commerce; whilst the pestilence that springs From unenjoying sensualism, has filled All human life with hydra-headed woes,

-[Shelley.

Man has no authority over posterity in matters of personal right. All hereditary government is, in its

ability to punish their respective delinquents .-When an individual attaches himself to one of these sub-communities, he does it with a view to some advantage which he cannot so readily obtain by other means, and when he joins one of them it is done with a condition either expressed or implied, namely, that he conform himself to its rules or laws; and when, therefore, he becomes delinquent, he is expelled from the society-that is, he is placed precisely where he was before he joined the society.

The physical laws are of infinite advantage to us, so long as we strictly conform ourselves to them, and when we do not we are sure to suffer. The social and moral laws are as natural as the physical-as thoroughly established by the will of the Creatorand like the physical they are of immense advantage to us so long as we act in conformity with them, and when we do not we are just as sure to suffer.

The individual who loses his membership in any given society, suffers, perhaps, in character, and also in losing the support and companionship of its members, and all other advantages incidental to the institution. In his expulsion, the good or safety of the society was alone consulted. It was no penalty to him, because he lost nothing by it, to which he had an unconditional right. He holds the same relation to the society that a mortified limb holds to the body—it is amputated, or removed, to save the body; not for punishment, nor as a punishment.

As by the laws of the human sentiments a man has no right to do wrong, it follows that he has no liberty to do wrong. Hence, the moment he does a wrong he forfeits his right to liberty; and if such be the condition of society that he cannot be deprived of his liberty compatibly with the preservation of his life, then his life must be forfeited. With savages no means exist by which a man can be deprived of his liberty without a deprivation of his life. Hence, a delinquent executes the law upon himself, or gets his friends to do it; and, as is esteemed an act of friendship to him, his wife, sisters, brothers and friends participate in the execution. But if neither himself nor friends will execute the law, then his enemies or the injured party will do it, if they can get him; but if they cannot get him, they will exccute the law on some one of his relatives, for the sake of vengeance. This desire for vengeance is mixed up with our criminal laws; it is to be observed at every court in civil society, and even in the Christian Church, where it is forbidden.

It has been seen that clans and sub-societies can turn delinquent brothren out upon society, the laws of which they may not have offended; but if a state shall do the same, injustice will be done to a neighboring state, which must be avoided; it follows. therefore, that every state should make provision for its offenders. Civil society has the power to do this without the destruction of life; and when an offender can be rendered useful to his family and his coun- combativeness, under such circumstances, be acting

destroy him. On the contrary, there is a proponderating motive to save him, more especially as he may be converted into a good and useful citizen during his confinement for the protection of society.

As we can have no expectation that a wolf or a tiger will cease to be dangerous, and as we can apply him to no useful purpose by imprisonment, we dispatch him at sight; and if the same certainly could be had with reference_to man, it would be wise to treat him in the same manner; but such a certainty cannot be had with reference to man, except, perhaps, in a few instances of idiots and hopeless lunatics.

When, therefore, a man has been found to have injured society by thest, burglary, robbery, piracy, murder, or in any other way, except by accident or in self-defense, the public safety demands that he shall be restrained of his liberty so long as the safety of society may demand.

I have found it to be very difficult to enable people to understand in what respect this differs from punishment. Is expelling a man from church, when he will not conform to its requisitions, a punishment? Is the amputation of a mortified arm a punishment to the arm? I have before stated that by the laws of the human sentiments, no person has a right to do wrong to another; is it, therefore, a punishment to restrain him from doing wrong to others? If society could have a certainty that a delinquent would go into the forest and live entirely removed from society, he should certainly have the privilege of doing so; but this certainty cannot be had. I would have it constantly remembered that according to the laws of the human sentiments, no man has a right to likerty to do wrong or injury to others; and, therefore, when he does injury to others, he forfeits his right to liberty, and it is no more a punishment to deprive him of it than it would be to deprive a man of a horse he had stolen. To deprive him of the horse may cause him to suffer more or less, but I have shown that suffering is not necessarily penal. The proposition, to my mind, is as clear as that two and two make four, that no man has a natural or moral right to liberty to do wrong to others, and that when he has abused his liberty by doing wrong, he then ceases to have any more just right to liberty, than a man has to the goods he has stolen; and really, I do not believe that I have a reader who is dull enough to conceive it to be punishment to deprive a thief of the goods he has stolen.

Suppose civil society should refuse to support the laws of the human sentiments, and consequently all offenders were permitted to roam at large, and depredate when and upon whom they pleased,--would not the consequence soon be that each citizen would conclude it to be right to shoot down the offenders wherever found, although they had done him, individually, no injury? Would not destructiveness and try, it would be a great outrage to those interests to in accordance with the dictates of the human sentiments? Neither courage nor punishment is aimed own. We should provide for him kind and capable at—the whole purpose is the protection of society.

But to return. When the liberty of the offender shall have been placed in the custody of the law, it becomes the duty of the law to ascertain as to the fact whether he has or has not offended. If the affirmative shall be proved to be the fact, the conclusion is certain: he should be removed from society, whether idiotic, sane or insane-questions with which the court should have nothing to do.

Justice has now been done to society—all its individuals may go to sleep with a feeling of security. The offender has been placed where he is to remain until he can come out with safety to the public good.

It is now proper that we should visit the prisoner, and ascertain his true condition, that justice may at least be done to him. An investigation of his condition discovers that he has not received such an education as would enable him to comprehend his relalations to or duties in society; or, that he has had entailed on him an organization indicating such a deficiency of the human sentiments as to render it greatly improbable, with the imperfect discipline he has had, that he should be a law unto himself; or, that he has a feeble intellect, and has not been educated to act in conformity with the laws of society. In either of these events, it is evident that society was the first offender, and, as a consequence, it has suffered. If punishment is to be introduced, society, for its neglect to the offender, deserves more than he -indced, all of it.

In civilized states, the municipal laws and institutions are supposed to be founded upon the supremacy of the human sentiments; otherwise it is still in the animal or savage state—which is, unfortunately, to a considerable extent, the fact. A society existing strictly under the supremacy of the human sentiments, would be careful to prepare every individual for a life of harmony with its institutions; and in proportion as society neglects to do this, will it suffer through its neglected individuals. This is not all. A state of society existing in harmony with the supremacy of the human sentiments, cannot furnish a depraved or criminally constituted individual. Both ignorance and degradation are therefore referable to social neglect, and all that society suffers through its evil doers, are consequences that as inevitably flow from the social infringement of the human sentiments, as broken bones do from that of the laws of gravitation.

Under this state of the facts, what should be done? Justice answers, "Although the safety of society required that the offender should be taken out of it, yet it does not follow that our obligations to him are to be thus cancelled. We should, as far as possible, make restitution for our neglect, not only of him, but also of his ancestors. He should have our charity and kindness, as an unfortunate individual of our species—as one upon whom the blighting influence of social neglect has fallen without any agency of his | nature, tyranny.—[Thomas Paine.

instructors, such as can convince him of the justice of his removal from society, call into activity his human sentiments and regulate by them the action of his animal impulses, and cause him to feel that society is kind, and desires to restore him to liberty, usefulness and happiness."

In other words, inasmuch as all offenders are such because of an inherited mental imperfection, or an education at variance with the safety and interests of society, they should be regarded as unfortunate rather than as criminal. The laws, therefore, should furnish them protection, under such influences as will be favorable to their return to society, with a strong probability, not only of safety to it, but also of usefulness.

To obtain these requisite results, our penitentiaries, with proper modifications, will answer. But the name should be changed-they should be denominated sanitary or reformatory asylums, or by some other name that indicates no disgrace.

To the offenders every possible motive should always be presented that can favor reformation. As labor is indispensable to both health and happiness, they should be required to labor, but in their labor they should feel as much interest as they did in their labor before forfeiting their liberty; that is, all they carn over and above a lawful interest on what they may have and are costing the State, should be placed to their credit, and held subject to their order, under the discretion of the superintendent.

All Things Are Sold.

All things are sold: the very light of heaven Is veral; earth's unsparing gifts of love, The small st and most despicable things That lurk in the abases of the deep, All objects of our his, -even life itself, And the poor p trance which the law allow Of liberty,-the fellowship of man, Those duties which his heart of human love Should urge him to perform instinctively, Are bought and sold as in a public mart Of undisguising selfi-liness, that sets On each its price, the stamp mark of her reign. Even love is seld: the solace of all woe Is turned to deadliest agony:-old age Shivers in selfish beauty's loathing arms, And youth's corrupted impulses prepare A life of horror from the blighting bane Of commerce; whilst the pestilence that springs From unenjoying sensualism, has filled All human life with hydra-headed woes,

Man has no authority over posterity in matters of personal right. All hereditary government is, in its

ТПЕ REPUBLIC. NEW

CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 19, 1862.

FRANCIS BARRY, EDITOR.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

ZERAH MASTERS, C. M. OVERTON, ORSON S. MURRAY.

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NEW REPUBLIC. CLEVELAND, Ohio.

New Arrangement.

It is with especial satisfaction that I contemplate the arrangement indicated by the names at the head of this column. Overburdered with labors, I have had neither time nor ability to do justice to the Editorial department of the Paper. So far as editorials are concerned, I am now confident that there will be no lack, and that the New REPUBLIC, in this regard at least, will be able to take such a position in the rank of Journalism as the great interests demand.

In its Editorial department, as well as in its contributions, the New Republic will illustrate Individuality; and its Editors, as well as Contributors, agreeing essentially I trust on the leading questions that now so greatly concern us, will express their own opinions on any and every question, and be held responsible only for the same. As sole Proprietor and Manager, I am responsible for publishing a free journal, and for the sentiments that I utter. In no other way and in no degree shall I hold myself responsible for what appears in these columns. That there may be no doubt in regard to authorship, all articles will be accompanied by the initials or other signature of the writer.

So far as selections are concerned, they will generally be made on account of interest in the leading idea, and because it is forcibly and well expressed; but selections will sometimes be made solely to give the idea a hearing. Publishing an article, contributed or selected, without note or comment, will necessarily imply no sort or degree of endorsement.

Some contributions from Friends Murray and Overton, other than Editorials, written previous to the present arrangement being made, including a review of Mr. Overton's "Two Theories," will appear. Editorial association, however, will imply no necessity of refraining from controverting each other's opinions, should there be occasion. No Editorial writer for this Paper subjects himself to any trainmels whatever. I am at liberty to copy the following from Friend Murray's letter of acceptance:-

"I have always held myself above being hired to write for pay, under the dictation of others. Have

enough to hire me to write contrary to my own con victions of truth and propriety. Your proposal is satisfactory, as to granting me, or leaving me in the enjoyment of, all the freedom I could ask in the case. It is the true ground. Each writer responsible for bis own expressions." Ť. B.

The Material against the Spiritual.

In advance, deprecatory of hurtful surmisings, on the part of the fearful and apprehensive, as to what may be my views of the marvellous and mysterious that have been making development-rather have remained undeveloped—from time to time in times past-surmisings that might otherwise arise from the contemplation of unexplained expressions of mine that may appear-suffer a brief extract or two from a letter recently written to a friend:-

I am a believer in incomprehensible nature—in natural affinities-in the relations and adaptations of things. My faith goes beyond that of Spiritualists. Mine attributes to the living what theirs attributes to the dead. My belief is, that thinking has a medium through which to go and affect and effect thinking, as far as thought can reach. Much that is possible here is not reliable for practical purposes. It is pleasurable to contemplate, and is useful as far as it can be reached and made reliable. And it is improvable with advancing development.

The moral and moralizing effect of this material philosophy has all possible advantage of the spiritual. The former tends to making the most and the best of what is known and to be known; while the latter tends to the neglect of what is known and to be known, in pursuits, presumptions and assumptions, as to what is unknown and not possible to be known. O. S. M.

Advocating a Principle at Last.

The New York Tribune is the most influential, and perhaps the ablest exponent of Republicanism, in the Country. That Party, though embodying a very great deal of humane feeling, vastly more than the Democratic Party, has, nevertheless, not been a party of Principle. It has proposed some excellent half-way measures, and urged them with becoming earnestness and perseverance, but these measures have not been based in a broad, genuine Principle. It has opposed the extension of Slavery, but insisted upon letting it alone in the States. It has opposed Slavery where it did not exist, and sustained it where it did exist.

. Now it is perfectly plain that if the slaveholder has a right to his slave anywhere, he has a right to him everywhere; that is, everywhere that he has himself a right to go. If the slave is rightful property in Missouri, by what principle of logic does he cease to be rightful property the moment his master steps with him across the state line? There is no principle in the thing at all; and the Republican always been poor; but no publisher ever had money | Party, in making this distinction, has shown its ina··· bility or indisposition to clearly comprehend and ap-linevitable. With a stern and unvielding faith in the apply the simplest principles of human rights. The Eternal Principles, and a cheerful and loving confislave is either a man, or a thing; either the rightful owner of himself, or a subject of property. In the , former case, Slavery is robbery and piracy, always and every where; in the latter case, all laws against the extension of Slavery are unjust and senseless.

But we live in an age of revolution. Party creeds on and platforms, constructed in times of peace, and is easy fellowship with slaveholders, are of little actount now, that the aspect of affairs is so changed, and the Country is being driven to recognize the fact. hitherto only ignored on account of a lack of clear m moral perception, that the essential nature of Slavery is injustice, lawlessness and outrage. The Tribune, in commenting upon some senseless and soulless utterances in the New Orleans True Delta, now con--: ducted by some of the attaches of the Union Army, 🥶 remarks:-

"We can understand how a poor man detected in a carrying Abolition tracts in his trunk, and grappled with by an old-fashioned Committee of Vigilance. may, while the gallows is building, or the tar-pot seething, frantically howl to the crowd that he does not consider the nigger equal to the white man; but that a sworded and belted and epauletted soldier, in the full flush of conquest, should consider such a confession of faith necessary, is what we do not at all understand, and it rather than else diminishes our estimate of the high dignity of human nature. extremely odd that Gen. Butler's newspaper should be found assuring the revolters that "the nigger is a useful and necessary animal;" for if this gentleman of the quill be right, then we do not he sitate to say that the Confederates are in the right also, to a cer-A law which should prohibit a Southtain extent. ern settler from carrying his pigs, horses and cows into Karasas, would be a law against the execution of which he would have, prima facie, a right to rebel. The very existence of this war proves that the blacks are not increly animals, but men also; and, whether we are pleased to admit it or not, the simple fact is, that every battle which we fight, is fought in vindication of the negro's humanity."

This is simply a common-sense view of the matter. Let the question be decided whether slaves are men, and so possessed of the rights of men, or simply animals, and so rightfully held as property. However the question is decided, let measures proposed be based upon one view or the other, and urged accordingly.

Another Rebellion.

There is no wisdom in attempting to make ourselves believe that the near future of this Nation is to witness any restoration to the old order of things. The people have flattered themselves that the Rebellion was nearly crushed out, and that peace and quiet and the establishment of the Government's authority, would soon be secured. All who cherish any such expectations are doomed to a terrible disappointment. It is not wise to be unduly apprehensive, or to brood tremblingly over apprehended calamities, but it is utter folly to shut our eyes to the dence in omnipotent and overruling and ever-directing Fate, never despairing or questioning the final result, whatever may intervene, let us as best we may "set our house in order," and "gird up our loins," for what is approaching.

The following from the Cincinnati Times, the most extensively circulated, and one of the ablest papers at the West, is, it seems to me, a rational view of the question:-

"An army may be required, in a very short time, to put down another rebellion, after the present or-ganized rebellion has been dispersed! The readers of the Times will free us from the imputation of being alarmists, though constantly putting the people on their guard. We now say, in all candor and frankness, that upon the troubled seas we see palpable indications of another conspiracy against the Union. Our poor bleeding country has certainly fallen upon evil times, and is passing through the era of conspiracies. We are reaping the awful and bloody harvest of long years of political corruption, and God only knows when the fearful work will end.

"It is well known that the Southern conspiracy had its branches all through the Northern States.

* * * These men never were, never will be, loyal to the Government of the United States. Their souls are dyed in treason, and the stain is in-delible. They have again thrown off the cloak, and speak holdly. They take the position of restoring "the Union as it was," which means the adoration of treason, and nothing else. In their public speeches, they exhibit the same sentiment and the same spirit that characterized the secession party at the South at the commencement of the rebellion. Everything must be sacrificed to the institution of Slavery, and he who does not agree to the sacrifice is an Abolitionist, politically, socially and eternally accursed. As in the secession movement, these declarations, and the audacious spirit with which they are hurled, are the symptons of an armed organization as yet hidden from sight. In fact, one Western Governor has publicly announced the existence of such organizaton in his State, and warned the people against all connection with it. If this be true, and it is our most solemn conviction that it is, the organization extends through all the States. The next movement, as at the South, will be to carry the election by force of arms! Or failing in that, produce a general state of anarchy throughout the whole

The question now is, what can be done to avert this terrible state of things. It is very easy to say how it might be averted, provided certain conditions existed. But they do not exist; and unquestionably the worst will come, and blood will flow "even to the horses' bridles." The Government will be overthrown, and anarchy as we have not yet dreamed of, will reign unhindered. There will be but one course for lovers of order to pursue: they must refrain from doing or saying aught to aggravate the evil by adding fuel to the flame. They must sustain the Government to the last, but save themselves for the work of rearing amid the scene of the general ruin, a new Government and a new Social State, "wherein dwelleth Righteousness," Freedom and Peace.

The Present.

The popular faith despises and degrades the present. What is here and now is held as cheap and mean. It is believed that we are living in the last days of the world, wherein is no present and indwelling God, no inspiration nor wisdom of any sort except a devil' wisdom. The popular life is retrospective. It is ever looking backward. It sees no light in our houses, nor fire on our hearth-stones, and so goes abroad in search of other light and warinth, raking among the ashes of the past, hoping to find a few small coals to cheer and warm. But the search is vain. The fires of the past have long since gone out. These deadened coals will blacken our fingers, but not warm them. The fire must burn in our own homes to yield us warmth and light. Nature has not placed our eyes in the backhead, but in the forehead. We are not to walk backward, but forward. The past is at our back, and we do well to let it remain there.

Idle is our fear lest any of the wisdom and instruction of the past be lost through any refusal on our part to grope amongst its ruins, gleaning from its dust and ashes. The wisdom of the past is not thus to be found. It dwells here amongst us, and in the present hour, embodied in a thousand-fold form, in our houses and streets, in our science, art, literature, politics and religion.

"Not one accent of the Holy Ghost Hath the heedless world ever lost."

The good of all the ages flows steadily forward, gaining new accessions every hour. We have only to stand here in our places and take it as it goes by. The past can teach us only what we already possess and know. Its utterances, however true and sublime, cannot transcend those of the present. The dead prophet can speak only as a living one is found to speak for him. If there are no living saints and sages, as many would have us believe, the dead ones must remain forever dumb and silent. Littleness cannot represent greatness. It does not avail for soulless men to repeat the words of the great and inspired. No inspiration is communicated thereby. It does not avail for frivolous priests to repeat the words of Jesus, Sunday after Sunday, in all the churches of Christendom. No one is helped thereby to the beauty of thought and life which invested that divine soul. Seldom has a glimpse of his divine life and character shone through his words. Only the preacher communicated himself, and naught else. If there were no greatness in reader nor hearer, none came from the text. The thoughts of Jesus get re-uttered in the world, only as men grow into the same lofty manhood and speak from the same elevation of thought. It matters not how many prophets and saints have spoken in the past, nor with what inspired and cloven tongues; their words of fire and flame, can find no utterance in the present, except the pentecostal baptism descend on some living soul, who also shall speak because the and manliest work.

divine necessity is laid on him. It is the living prophets who can instruct us, and we do well to heed them.

I think we pay too much deserence to the past when we go back to criticise or quarrel with it. Whether it performed its work well or ill does not much concern us. If ill, we cannot mend the matter; and if well, we do well to leave it alone. Let us mind our own affair, which is here, and now.

"The past is sacred; 'tis God's, not ours, Let us do better if we can."

We are to supplant the past, by the creation of a grander and more divine present. We are not here to be imitators, nor copyists of other men's work, however divine and fair, but to be original workers ourselves, adding new wealth and beauty to that already produced.

There is no stopping for us. We can come at no finalities. Life is a constant metamorphosis. These old forms are hourly being laid aside and replaced by new ones. We no longer have the same institutions, the same church, the same state and social life we had yesterday. While we slept they have all been changed. The change is so slight we may not perceive it with our dull eyesight, nevertheless it has taken place. These institutions of society, which we are wont to deem so fixed and permanent, are as fluid as air. A new influx of life into the soul puts them all to rout.

There is no authority but the present hour. It matters not how well these old forms of church, and state, and social life served our fathers. The only question is, How well will they serve us? how are they adapted to the wants and work of this hour? It is idle to talk of the sacredness of this or that institution, of this or that doctrine. There is, at last, but one thing sacred in this God's world, and that is humanity. Whatever serves it best, is most divine. There is no other life for mortals, except a present life—one that now is. We do not live in yesterday nor in to-morrow, but only in to-day. We speak of the future, but it is not yet born; of the past, but it has ceased to be. We hold our existence in the midst of an everlasting now. The future must convert itself into a present before it is ours. We can never escape the present, try how we will. It ever flows onward, and we flow with it. The reality of each to-day is the only real thing that will ever come to us; and whoever stands here and works, accepting the good thereof, gets all good. All thought, and truth, and beauty are circling toward the point where he stands, seeking admission to his open and receptive soul.

It is this exaltation of the present which alone can make life satisfactory and worthy. Let us learn that this present is a part of God's eternity, and of ours also, and as divine and sacred as any. It stands here as an eternal and fixed reality, without bound or limitation, wherein we dwell, and wherein is no lack of means and opportunity for doing the highest and manliest work.

the present for such purposes as will never fail, tion in favor of Slavery |-Alasham Lincoln is The true immortality is an alliance of the soul to im- squandering the blood and creasure of this Nation, to perishable realities. To become wholly pure and preserve another "peculiar institution," of like charwise is to become as eternal and enduring as God. acter, on no better pretexts. So much for a perni-To become wholly bad is to cease and not be. The cious godly example, to be imitated by a man foisted divine soul does not postpone, but exists one with upon an eminence that he is not qualified to occupy. God to-day. It annihilates space and time, and Whoever can satisfy himself with a Teason for keepdwells in the midst of the eternities. H. S.

Lincoln Godlike-Abraham Lincoln Imitating "the God of Abraham."

"The God of Abraham"—the father of the god of the Christians—at an early period in the history of his works, pronounced all he had done, "very good." But, soon after, he found it getting very bad-so bad that he went about destroying it. But he did not go about his work of destruction and renovation earnestly. In Western parlance, he "made a fool of it." There was a "peculiar institution" that he was careful to preserve. Whether or not in its origin this institution was a piece of his own handiwork, he has not revealed. But in his revelation he does designate it as the depraver of his better, nobler workpronounces it the source of all depravity—the cause | dangerous to the liberties of the Nation than the conof rabellion, the rebel itself, the perpetrator of high spirators in the South. The N. Y. Herald, the treason, against his own throne and government, in leader of treason and conspiracy in the North-the his own dwelling place. In his latest revelation [N. Y. Herald, which said that the Confederate Contouching this institution and its works, he threatens stitution was an improvement upon the Federal that about the time of the approach to the time when "time shall be no longer," he will put a chain on this institution, and limit it within certain, specified, undesirable territory, "a thousand years * * that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a little season." The "mystery" about this matter is, that during all this time, from leause their departments are conducted in a manner beginning to end, while there can be any opportunity for this institution to do harm, it should be allowed to "walk about as a roaring lion; seeking head of the President-says at the same time and in whom he may devour." It would seem that power the same connection: "No one wants to see Secto chain it should be power to choke it after it is chained. And if there was power to chain it and to | Seward, this same subtle politician and magician, is choke it, at the time the multitude of its victims ; were drowned-by a flood got up for that express purpose-to have given it [the institution] an effectual choking then, and drowned the other "eight souls," making an entire renovation, and taking a new start, would have saved rivers of tears and oceans of blood, that it is difficult to know how any good being can have delighted in all this while. Certainly, it must be thought, any other but a "man | business to see that Slavery is not harmed—to kidof war" would have adopted a different policy.

Imitating this policy, taking counsel of Wm. II. Seward, [who, the N. Y. Post says: "was obliged to permit himself to be misunderstood; [surely this was very god-like in Seward] he even desired, no doubt, in many instances, to be misunderstood-it exists elsewhere on earth. Before we have any best answered his purpose that motives different more boasting that ours is the best government the from his real ones should be assigned to him"-con- sun has shone on, it better be found out whether or

The only right living for the future is to live in cerning his procuring an alteration of the Constituing a devil alive-with such a character as is attributed by the god of the Bible to his devil-may satisfy himself with a reason for keeping Slavery alive. The former is the priest's instrumentality, the latter is the politician's instrumentality, for oppressing and degrading mankind.

> It is said by way of excusing Abraham Lincoln, that he is in a very difficult situation. The same would be true if one still less competent than he were in it. The fact that the situation is a most difficult and responsible one is the very reason why it needs to be filled by a more competent man. The more especially as Abraham Lincoln is in the hands of Wm. H. Seward, who has made himself a distinguished favorite with the Northern traitors and conspirators, who are this moment more deleterious and Constitution, in every point of difference between the two, and urged that the Northern States should adopt the Southern Constitution, at the time of its first appearance—the N. Y. Herald, which desires to-day to see Jefferson Davis in the place occupied by Abraham Lincoln, and to this end is clamoring for the removal of Stanton, Welles and Chase, bedangerous to Slavery-this same N. Y. Herald, that to this end is holding a rod in terrorem over the RETARY SEWARD DISTURBED." This same Secretary making use of Abraham Lincoln to play his political games with, as he would not dare to play them if the responsibility were more his own. If it be not soif Abraham Lincoln alone is having his own will and his own way, as Commander-in-Chief-setting aside the expressed will of a majority of Congress, and the known will of a majority of the loyal people, in the employment of generals who make it their principal nap and return its fleeing victims-thus encouraging the conspirators to persist, and inviting foreign intervention-then it is a one-man power more odious and execrable, more preventive of human progress, more potent for retrogression into barbarism, than

not this exercise of this power is legitimate. If it is legitimate—if it results from the genius of our government—let the boasting cease. If illegitimate, it is high time to start inquiry for a remedy.

O. S. M.

The Shakers.

(Extract from a Letter to a Friend.)

The Shaker institution is one of the institutions needed in this world, far more than many other of the institutions claiming to be the world's saviors. I have profound regard for the Shakers. I cherish estcom for them. I would have their institution nourished and kept along-at least their leading idea kept before the world-while it is needed so much as it yet is, as a rebuke to beastliness-beastliness worse than the best of the beastliness of the beasts. The best of the beasts are, in their sexual practices, rebukers of the grosser among human herds.-Entire Shakerism is not, of course, for universal practice. But their preaching-THE PREACH-ING OF THEIR PECULIAR PRACTICE—is needed and essentially useful. Their religion, like all other religion, is enslaving and degrading. o. s. M.

How Sha!l We Treat the Dead?

It seems a desceration of the sacred silence of the chamber of death to break it with any sounds that are not musical. Words from human lips do not meet the selemnity and exigencies of the occasion. When the spirit of your friend, or relative, or babe has flown—be still! Dress the rejected casket for the under world. It is cold and useless to mortal Wrap it in its sheet and lay it quietly in the temb. But before proceeding to fulfill the last kind, sad office, let there be music in the house of mourning. Let sweet singers relate the beautiful processes and lessons of death, or let them sing the song of welcome, such as angels chant over the birth of a human spirit. Speaking on such occasions should never be long or argumentative. A few words fitly spoken, or a spiritual hymn sung, constitutes the most beautiful proceeding. lengthy discourse in the midst of mourning is a profanation, an indelicate intrusion, a positive outrage on the sanctities of sorrow. But there's a world of sympathy in appropriate music. And a change of dress is equally inconsistent with the dietates of sorrow. No crapen vail, however black, can relieve the bereft soul. We counsel Spiritualists and Philosophers to make no display over their dead. Ceremonies and expensive processions are Oriental-from the land of bombast and superstition -and civilized nations in the great Western World should abolish them. Let us work and bless the living; the dead body needeth little attention.

--[Herald of Progress.

Thoughts.

True, we should be cosmopolitan in our feelings, and love abstract truths; yet our town, state, country, have claims upon us by virtue of our situation, paramount to remoter and abstract claims.

"The Maker on the human breast
A sense of country, home, impressed."

The people of my own township always seem near to me; this is especially the case if they be met when absent from home. And when ours are in trouble, 'tis natural to instinctively rush to relieve them; and 'tis right, for in it we are but following the holy instincts planted within us by a Diviner than we. No long course of reasoning is needed to move a healthy humanity in such cases. To stop to reason here shows disease, and would be more apt to bewilder than to lead aright, in the absence of this uncring instinct. How natural for those boys, at a large gathering, who, upon hearing the cries of one of their own town boys, rushed to his relief. He had possibly provoked the chastisement he was receiving. But he was suffering, and his comrades determined to release him. They did did not wish to encourage him in wrong-doing-by no means; and after having "pounded him out" of his trouble, demanded an explanation, asking him "how in the name of thunder he got into such a serape," and cautioning him to more carefulness in the future.

How beautiful such a course seems in contrast with that of the woman, when her husband, having carclessly fell from the crossing into a stream, was calling on her for aid in his struggle to gain a footing, who met his entreaties with the cool, consorious reply that there was no need of his being there—that he ought to have been more careful.

It is unmerciful to get so far in advance of our race, as never to pardon their imperfections and crimes. But elevate ourselves as we may above it, we still remain human—one of the necessities of which is to err.

Our Country is in trouble—its Government is struggling for its very existence. Does any one stop to ask, How came it so? Or with a cold cencoriousness say there is no need of its being in such a crisis, and, as the woman did her husband, leave it to struggle unaided? Would it not look and be infinitely better, to rush like these boys into the ring, and aid in "pounding it out" of the environments thrown around it by traitors and assassins, and then afterwards reason together on the causes of our troubles and their removal in the future?

Let us renew our faith in man's capacity, our reverence for human possibilities.—[4. B. Stebbin.

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